

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 BONN 19878 01 OF 03 302222Z
ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 CIAE-00 PM-05 INR-07 L-03
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FM AMEMBASSY BONN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 3575
INFO USMISSION USBERLIN
AMEMBASSY BERLIN
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
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CONFIDENTIAL SECTION 01 OF 03 BONN 19878

USEEC
DEPARTMENT FOR EUR/CE (GEORGE CHESTER)

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PGOV, BQG, NATO, EEC
SUBJECT: DECEMBER QUADRUPLE PARTITE MEETING ON BERLIN:
POLITICAL ASSESSMENT

REFS: (A) STATE 284360, (B) BONN 19621, (C) STATE
285089

SUMMARY: ON NOVEMBER 30, THE BONN GROUP REACHED
AD REF AGREEMENT ON CHANGES IN THE POLITICAL ASSESS-
MENT, AS SET OUT BELOW. THE FRENCH AGREED TO INCLUSION
OF REFERENCES TO SOVIET AND GDR PRESSURE ON BERLIN/FRG
TIES AND ON FRG REPRESENTATION ABROAD OF THE INTERESTS OF
BERLIN, ALBEIT IN A MODIFIED FORM. ACTION REQUESTED:
APPROVAL OF AD REF CHANGES. END SUMMARY.

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PAGE 02 BONN 19878 01 OF 03 302222Z

1. IN THE LIGHT OF INSTRUCTIONS FROM CAPITALS, THE
BONN GROUP AGREED AD REF TO THE FOLLOWING CHANGES IN
THE POLITICAL ASSESSMENT (REF B) ON NOVEMBER 30:

(A) SUBSTITUTE THE FOLLOWING FOR PARAGRAPH L:

"FOLLOWING THE FIRM DECLARATION ON BERLIN MADE BY THE HEADS OF STATE AND GOVERNMENT IN LONDON ON 9 MAY, THE QUADRIPARTITE AGREEMENT HAS CONTINUED IN THE LAST SIX MONTHS TO OPERATE IN GENERAL SATISFACTORILY. THE BENEFITS TO BERLINERS IN PRACTICAL AND HUMANITARIAN MATTERS, NOTABLY IN TERMS OF CIVILIAN ACCESS TO BERLIN, HAVE CONTINUED. AS THE FEDERAL CHANCELLOR SAID IN BERLIN ON 3 OCTOBER 1977, THE TIES WHICH HAVE GROWN UP BETWEEN THE WESTERN SECTORS OF BERLIN AND THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY CANNOT BE DENIED. BUT THE UNDERLYING LEGAL AND POLITICAL DIFFERENCES BETWEEN EAST AND WEST REMAIN APPARENT. DURING THE PERIOD THE SOVIET UNION AND THE GDR HAVE CONTINUED TO PUT PRESSURE ON THE TIES BETWEEN THE WESTERN SECTORS OF BERLIN AND THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY AND ALSO TO SEEK TO LIMIT THE RIGHT OF THE REPRESENTATION ABROAD OF THE INTERESTS OF THE WESTERN SECTORS OF BERLIN BY THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY. IT IS AN OPEN QUESTION WHETHER THESE EFFORTS HAVE INCREASED. THE SITUATION REMAINS THEREFORE GENERALLY CALM BUT THERE CONTINUES TO BE AN UNDERCURRENT OF TENSION."

(B) SUBSTITUTE THE FOLLOWING FOR PARAGRAPH 4:

"IN THE SECOND CATEGORY BELONGS A TENDENCY TO CLAIM
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 BONN 19878 01 OF 03 302222Z

THAT THE EASTERN SECTOR OF BERLIN NO LONGER HAS SPECIAL STATUS AND THAT QUADRIPARTITE RIGHTS RELATE EXCLUSIVELY TO THE WESTERN SECTORS. THE CONTINUED EFFORT AIMED AT PUTTING PRESSURE ON THE TIES BETWEEN THE WESTERN SECTORS OF BERLIN AND THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY AND ALSO AT LIMITING THE RIGHT OF THE REPRESENTATION ABROAD OF THE WESTERN SECTORS OF BERLIN BY THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY AND AT MAKING A DISTINCTION BETWEEN GERMANS RESIDENT IN BERLIN AND THOSE RESIDENT IN THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY MUST ALSO BE INCLUDED IN THIS CATEGORY. SOME OF THE SOVIET PRESSURE ON TIES MAY BE A RESPONSE TO WHAT THE SOVIET AUTHORITIES SEE AS AN EFFORT BY THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY TO INTEGRATE WEST BERLIN INTO THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY IN VIOLATION OF THE SPIRIT OF THE QUADRIPARTITE AGREEMENT."

(C) INSERT A NEW PARAGRAPH 5 AS FOLLOWS AND RENUMBER SUBSEQUENT PARAGRAPHS ACCORDINGLY:

"A NEW AND NOTEWORTHY DEVELOPMENT FALLING INTO NEITHER OF THE CATEGORIES ABOVE IS A SUBSTANTIAL INCREASE IN

SOVIET PATROLS IN THE WESTERN SECTORS. THIS SEEMS
TO BE A RESPONSE TO THE ALLIED REFUSAL TO CURTAIL THE

CONFIDENTIAL

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CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 BONN 19878 02 OF 03 302228Z
ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 PM-05 INR-07 L-03 ACDA-12
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 03 BONN 19878

ACTIVITIES OF ALLIED FLAG TOURS IN EAST BERLIN."

(D) CHANGE THE FIRST SENTENCE OF PARAGRAPH RENUMBERED 6 TO READ AS FOLLOWS: "THE WAY IN WHICH EASTERN POSITIONS HAVE BEEN PUT FORWARD HAS REMAINED MUCH THE SAME."

(E) IN PARAGRAPH RENUMBERED 10, INSERT
"(FLAG TOURS)" AFTER "PATROLS" IN THE HEADING.

(F) IN PARAGRAPH RENUMBERED 9(B), SUBSTITUTE "ON" FOR "WITH" IN THE SECOND SENTENCE AND END THE THIRD SENTENCE AFTER "REPORT" (STRIKE "DESCRIBING ITS WORK ON THIS PROBLEM.").

(G) IN PARAGRAPH RENUMBERED 9(C), END THE SECOND
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CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 BONN 19878 02 OF 03 302228Z

SENTENCE AFTER "FUTURE." ADD THE FOLLOWING NEW LANGUAGE: "THE PRINCIPAL CONTRIBUTION OF THE THREE POWERS TO THE VIABILITY OF THE WESTERN SECTORS OF BERLIN IS THEIR COMMITMENT TO THE POLITICAL STABILITY OF THE AREA, FREEDOM OF ACCESS, AND SECURITY. IN ADDITION TO THIS FUNDAMENTAL CONTRIBUTION, THERE MAY BE AREAS IN WHICH THE THREE POWERS CAN SUPPORT THE EFFORTS BEING MADE BY THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT AND THE SENAT TO STIMULATE BERLIN'S ECONOMY." (THE SENTENCE BEGINNING "THE BONN GROUP HAS SUBMITTED" REMAINS UNCHANGED).

2. THE BACKGROUND TO THE PROPOSED CHANGES IS DESCRIBED IN THE FOLLOWING PARAGRAPHS.

3. PARAGRAPH L OF ASSESSMENT:

(A) AS NOTED REFTELS, THE FRENCH HAD RESERVATIONS ABOUT REFERENCES TO THE TIES AND FOREIGN REPRESENTATION OF BERLIN. A FULLER DISCUSSION OF THIS SUBJECT IS REPORTED SEPARATELY IN A TELEGRAM ON THE DRAFT NATO COMMUNIQUE. THE FRENCH REP (RICHARD) WAS PREPARED, HOWEVER, TO AGREE TO MENTIONING THEM IF MENTION WAS ALSO MADE OF THE TIES WHICH HAVE GROWN UP.

(B) THE FRG CONSIDERS THAT THE PRESSURES ON TIES HAVE

INCREASED, THE FRENCH DISAGREE. THEREFORE, THE REFERENCE TO THIS BEING AN OPEN QUESTION WAS INCLUDED.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 BONN 19878 02 OF 03 302228Z

(C) THE FRG REP (VON BRAUNMUEHL) WAS NOT PREPARED TO ACCEPT THE DEPARTMENT'S SUGGESTION TO SUBSTITUTE "SHOULD BE CAREFULLY FOLLOWED" FOR "STILL DELICATE." HENCE IT WAS AGREED AD REF TO SUBSTITUTE THE PHRASE "THERE CONTINUES TO BE AN UNDERCURRENT OF TENSION," A PHRASE WHICH WAS ATTRIBUTED TO AMBASSADOR ABRASIMOV.

4. PARAGRAPH 4 OF ASSESSMENT:

(A) THE FCO ARGUES THAT THE SOVIET TENDENCY IS

MUCH AS BEFORE; THEREFORE THE REFERENCES TO AN INCREASE
WAS DELETED.

(B) THE FCO ALSO WAS OF THE VIEW THAT THE INCREASE
IN SOVIET PATROLS DID NOT NEATLY FIT IN THE SECOND
CATEGORY, AND THIS PORTION WAS TRANSFERRED TO NEW
PARAGRAPH 5.

(C) THE FRENCH WERE RELUCTANTLY PREPARED TO INCLUDE
REFERENCES TO TIES AND FOREIGN REPRESENTATION, BUT
ONLY ALONG THE LINES OF THE REFERENCES IN PARAGRAPH 1
AND ONLY IF THE FRG IS PREPARED TO RETAIN THE LAST
SENTENCE OF PARAGRAPH 4.

5. THE REASON FOR NEW PARAGRAPH 5 IS GIVEN ABOVE.
THE SECOND (NEW) SENTENCE WAS INCLUDED AT THE REQUEST
OF THE FRG.

6. THE MINOR CHANGES IN RENUMBERED PARAGRAPH 6 WERE
MADE BECAUSE THE FCO DID NOT UNDERSTAND THE PRIOR
LANGUAGE.

7. THE MINOR CHANGE IN RENUMBERED PARAGRAPH 10 (A)
IS TO REFLECT THE PRACTICE OF REFERRING TO ALLIED
PATROLS AS FLAG TOURS.

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PAGE 04 BONN 19878 02 OF 03 302228Z

8. THE CHANGE IN RENUMBERED PARAGRAPH 10(B) REFLECTS
WHAT WE UNDERSTAND WILL BE THE QUAI'S REQUEST THAT THE

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CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 BONN 19878 03 OF 03 302229Z
ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 PM-05 INR-07 L-03 ACDA-12
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CONFIDENTIAL SECTION 03 OF 03 BONN 19878

PROGRESS REPORT ON THE EC STUDY BE KEPT TO A BARE
MINIMUM.

9. PARAGRAPH 9 OF ASSESSMENT:

(A) THE UK REP (EYERS) WAS NOT PREPARED TO AGREE
TO THE DEPARTMENT'S PROPOSED TEXT ON THE GROUND THAT
THE PHRASE "SUPPORT IN AN APPROPRIATE FASHION"
SOUNDED TOO MUCH LIKE ALLIED FINANCIAL SUPPORT. THE
US REP ARGUED THAT THE PURPOSE OF THE PHRASE
"APPROPRIATE" WAS PRESUMABLY TO TAKE ACCOUNT OF ANY
POSSIBLE MISCONCEPTION ALONG THESE LINES. EYERS
RESPONDED THAT HE DID NOT BELIEVE THE FCO WOULD ACCEPT
IT. THE BONN GROUP REPS THEN TURNED TO THE DRAFT
VIABILITY STUDY IN A SEARCH FOR APPROPRIATE LANGUAGE
AND TOOK MUCH OF THE TEXT OF THE INTRODUCTION TO PART
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 BONN 19878 03 OF 03 302229Z

III OF THAT STUDY FOR USE IN THE ASSESSMENT.

(B) IN ACCORDANCE WITH INSTRUCTIONS, THE US REP
SUGGESTED THE FOLLOWING LANGUAGE REGARDING THE
PSYCHOLOGICAL SITUATION IN BERLIN: "THE PSYCHOLOGICAL
SITUATION IN BERLIN HAS IMPROVED SOMEWHAT OVER THE LAST
SIX MONTHS. BERLINERS ARE GENERALLY CONFIDENT ABOUT
THE CITY'S POLITICAL SITUATION BUT ARE MORE CONCERNED
ABOUT BERLIN'S PROSPECTS FOR FUTURE ECONOMIC DEVELOP-
MENT." HE NOTED THIS WAS BASED ON THE DEPARTMENT'S
IMPRESSION AND ON A RECENT PUBLIC OPINION POLL (USIS
BONN'S MESSAGE NO. 72 ON BERLIN PUBLIC OPINION).
HOWEVER, NONE OF THE OTHER THREE BONN GROUP REPS
SHARED THE VIEW THAT THERE IS ANY SUBSTANTIAL EVIDENCE
THAT THE PSYCHOLOGICAL SITUATION HAS IMPROVED OVER
THE LAST SIX MONTHS. IN VIEW OF THE
FLEXIBILITY CONTAINED IN OUR INSTRUCTIONS, WE DID NOT

INSIST ON THE INCLUSION OF THE REFERENCE TO THE PSYCHO-
LOGICAL SITUATION BUT WILL DO SO IF THE DEPARTMENT
WISHES.

10. ACTION REQUESTED: APPROVAL OF AD REF CHANGES.
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Message Attributes

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